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Treaty of Peace With Germany

I

Official Summary

Of the Text Presented to the German Delegates by the Allied and Associated Powers, Versailles, May 7, 1919

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II

Official Text of the Covenant of the League of Nations

III

Resolution of Indorsement

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League to Enforce Peace
World Peace Foundation

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OFFICIAL SUMMARY OF THE TREATY OF PEACE

The full official summary of the Treaty of Peace with Germany, presented by the Associated Powers to the German delegates at Versailles on May 7, 1919, follows:

Preamble

The preamble names as parties of the first part the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, described as the five allied and associated powers;

And Belgium, Liberia, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Brazil, Panama, China, Peru, Cuba, Poland Ecuador, Portugal, Greece, Rumania, Guatemala, Serbia, Haiti, Siam, the Hedjaz, Czecho-Slovakia, Honduras, Uraguay, who with the five above, are described as the allied and associated powers;

And on the other part, Germany.

The preamble states that, bearing in mind that on the request of the then imperial German Government, an armistice was granted on November 11, 1918, by the principal allied and associated powers in order that a treaty of peace might be concluded with her; and

Whereas, the allied and associated powers, being equally desirous that the war in which they were successively involved, directly or indirectly, and which originated in the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary July 28, 1914, against Serbia, the declaration of war by Germany against Russia on August 1, 1914, and against France on August 3, 1914, and in the invasion of Belgium, should be replaced by a firm, just and durable peace, the plenipotentiaries (having communicated their full powers found in good and due form), have agreed as follows:

From the coming into force of the present treaty the state of war will terminate.

From the moment, and subject to the provisions of this treaty, official relations with Germany and with each of the German states will be resumed by the allied and associated powers.

Section I

COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS[1]

The Covenant of the League of Nations constitutes Section I of the peace treaty, which places upon the League many specific, in addition to its general, duties.

It may question Germany at any time for a violation of the neutralized zone east of the Rhine as a threat against the world's peace. It will appoint three of the five members of the Saar commission, oversee its régime and carry out the plébiscite. It will appoint the high commissioner of Danzig, guarantee the independence of the free city and arrange for treaties between Danzig and Germany and Poland. It will work out the mandatory system to be applied to the former German colonies, and act as a final court in part of the plébiscites of the Belgian-German frontier and in disputes as to the Kiel Canal, and decide certain of the economic and financial problems.

An international conference on labor is to be held in October under its direction, and another on the international control of ports, waterways and railways is foreshadowed.

Membership

The members of the League will be the signatories of the Covenant and other states invited to accede, who must lodge a declaration of accession without reservation within two months. A new state, dominion or colony may be admitted, provided its admission is agreed by two-thirds of the Assembly. A state may withdraw upon giving two years' notice, if it has fulfilled all its international obligations.

Secretariat

A permanent Secretariat will be established at the seat of the League which will be at Geneva.

Assembly

The Assembly will consist of representatives of the members of the League, and will meet at stated intervals. Voting will be by states. Each member will have one vote and not more than three representatives.

Council

The Council will consist of representatives of the five great allied powers, together with repre-

1 Complete text, page 40.

sentatives of four members selected by the Assembly from time to time; it may co-opt additional states and will meet at least once a year. Members not represented will be invited to send a representative when questions affecting their interests are discussed. Voting will be by states. Each state will have one vote and not more than one representative. A decision taken by the Assembly and Council must be unanimous except in regard to procedure, and in certain cases specified in the Covenant and in the treaty, where decisions will be by majority.

Armaments

The Council will formulate plans for a reduction of armaments for consideration and adoption. These plans will be revised every ten years. Once they are adopted, no member must exceed the armaments fixed without the concurrence of the Council. All members will exchange full information as to armaments and programs, and a permanent commission will advise the Council on military and naval questions.

Preventing of War

Upon any war, or threat of war, the Council will meet to consider what common action shall be taken. Members are pledged to submit matters of dispute to arbitration or inquiry and not to resort to war until three months after the award. Members agree to carry out an arbitral award, and not to go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with it; if a member fails to carry out the award the Council will propose the necessary measures. The Council will formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent Court of International Justice to determine international disputes or to give advisory opinions. Members who do not submit their case to arbitration must accept the juri[illegible] diction of the Assembly. If the Council[illegible] the parties to the dispute, is unanimously [illegible] upon the rights of it, the members agr[illegible] they will not go to war with any part[illegible] dispute which complies with its reco[illegible] tions. In this case a recommendation [illegible] Assembly, concurred in by all its members [illegible] sented on the Council and a simple major[illegible] the rest, less the parties to the dispute, will h[illegible] the force of a unanimous recommendation b[illegible]

the Council. In either case, if the necessary agreement cannot be secured, the members reserve the right to take such action as may be necessary for the maintenance of right and justice. Members resorting to war in disregard of the Covenant will immediately be debarred from all intercourse with other members. The Council will in such cases consider what military or naval action can be taken by the League collectively for the protection of the Covenants, and will afford facilities to members cooperating in this enterprise.

Validity of Treaties

All treaties or international engagements concluded after the institution of the League will be registered with the Secretariat and published. The Assembly may from time to time advise members to reconsider treaties which have become inapplicable or involve danger to peace. The Covenant abrogates all obligations between members inconsistent with its terms, but nothing in it shall affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings, like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

The Mandatory System

The tutelage of nations not yet able to stand by themselves will be intrusted to advanced nations who are best fitted to undertake it. The Covenant recognizes three different stages of development requiring different kinds of mandatories.

(*a*)—Communities like those belonging to the Turkish Empire, which can be provisionally recognized as independent, subject to advice and assistance from a mandatory, in whose selection they would be allowed a voice.

(*b*)—Communities like those of Central [illegible]rica, to be administered by the manda[illegible]y under conditions generally approved [illegible]he members of the League where equal [illegible]ortunities for trade will be allowed to [illegible]members; certain abuses, such as trade [illegible]slaves, arms and liquor, will be prohibited, [illegible]nd the construction of military and naval bases and the introduction of compulsory military training will be disallowed.

(*c*)—Other communities, such as Southwest Africa and the South Pacific Islands, but administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory.

In every case the mandatory will render an annual report, and the degree of its authority will be defined.

General Provisions

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the League will in general endeavor, through the international organization established by the labor convention, to secure and maintain fair conditions of labor for men, women and children in their own countries and other countries, and undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control; they will intrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements for the suppression of traffic in women and children, etc., and the control of the trade in arms and ammunition with countries in which control is necessary; they will make provision for freedom of communication and transit and equitable treatment for commerce of all members of the League, with special reference to the necessities of regions devastated during the war; and they will endeavor to take steps for international prevention and control of disease. International bureaus and commissions already established will be placed under the League, as well as those to be established in the future.

Amendments

Amendments to the Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Council and by a majority of the Assembly.

Section II

WESTERN FRONTIERS OF GERMANY

Alsace-Lorraine

Germany cedes to France Alsace-Lorraine, 5,600 square miles of it to the southwest; and to Belgium, two small districts between Luxemburg and Holland, totaling 382 square miles. She also cedes to Poland the southeastern tip of Silesia, beyond and including Oppeln; most of Posen and

West Prussia, 27,686 square miles; East Prussia being isolated from the main body by a part of Poland. She loses sovereignty over the northeasternmost tip of East Prussia, 40 square miles north of the River Memel, and the internationalized areas about Danzig, 729 square miles, and the basin of the Saar, 738 square miles, between the western border of the Rhenish Palatinate of Bavaria and the southeast corner of Luxemburg. The Danzig area consists of the V between the Nogat and Vistula rivers, made a W by the addition of a similar V on the west, including the City of Danzig. The southeastern third of East Prussia and the area between East Prussia and the Vistula, north of latitude 53 degrees 3 minutes, 5,785 square miles, is to have its nationality determined by popular vote, as is to be the case in part of Schleswig, 2,787 square miles.

Belgium

Germany is to consent to the abrogation of the treaties of 1839, by which Belgium was established as a neutral state, and to agree in advance to any convention with which the allied and associated powers may determine to replace them.

She is to recognize the full sovereignty of Belgium over the contested territory of Moresnet and over part of Prussian Moresnet, and to renounce in favor of Belgium all rights over the circles of Eupen and Malmédy, the inhabitants of which are to be entitled within six months to protest against this change of sovereignty either in whole or in part, the final decision to be reserved to the League of Nations. A commission is to settle the details of the frontier, and various regulations for change of nationality are laid down.

Luxemburg

Germany renounces her various treaties and conventions with the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, recognizes that it ceased to be part of the German *zollverein* from January 1 last, renounces all right of exploitation of the railroads, adheres to the abrogation of its neutrality, and accepts in advance any international agreement as to it, reached by the allied and associated powers.

Left Bank of the Rhine

As provided in the military clauses, Germany will not maintain any fortifications or armed

forces less than 50 kilometers to the east of the Rhine, hold any maneuvers, nor maintain any works to facilitate mobilization. In case of violation, "she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the powers who sign the present treaty and as intending to disturb the peace of the world.

"By virtue of the present treaty Germany shall be bound to respond to any request for an explanation which the Council of the League of Nations may think it necessary to address to her."

Alsace-Lorraine

After recognition of the moral obligation to repair the wrong done in 1871 by Germany to France and the people of Alsace-Lorraine, the territories ceded to Germany by the treaty of Frankfort are restored to France with their frontiers as before 1871, to date from the signing of the armistice, and to be free of all public debts.

Citizenship is regulated by detailed provisions distinguishing those who are immediately restored to full French citizenship, those who have to make formal applications therefor, and those for whom naturalization is open after three years. The last-named class includes German residents in Alsace-Lorraine, as distinguished from those who acquire the position of Alsace-Lorrainers as defined in the treaty.

All public property and all private property of German ex-sovereigns passes to France without payment or credit. France is substituted for Germany as regards ownership of the railroads and rights over concessions of tramways. The Rhine bridges pass to France with the obligation of their upkeep.

For five years manufactured products of Alsace-Lorraine will be admitted to Germany free of duty to a total amount not exceeding in any year the average of the three years preceding the war, and textile materials may be imported from Germany to Alsace-Lorraine and re-exported free of duty. Contracts for electric power from the right bank must be continued for ten years.

For seven years, with possible extension to ten, the ports of Kehl and Strasburg shall be administered as a single unit by a French administrator appointed and supervised by the Central Rhine Commission. Property rights will be safeguarded in both ports and equality of treatment

as respects traffic assured the national vessels and goods of every country.

Contracts between Alsace-Lorrainers and Germans are maintained save for France's right to annul on grounds of public interest judgments of courts held in certain classes of cases, while in others a judicial exequatur is first required. Political condemnations during the war are null and void, and the obligation to repay war fines is established as in other parts of allied territory.

Various clauses adjust the general provisions of the treaty to the special conditions of Alsace-Lorraine, certain matters of execution being left to conventions to be made between France and Germany.

The Saar

In compensation for the destruction of coal mines in Northern France, and as payment on account of reparation, Germany cedes to France full ownership of the coal mines of the Saar basin with their subsidiaries, accessories and facilities. Their value will be estimated by the reparation commission and credited against that account. The French rights will be governed by German law in force at the armistice, excepting war legislation, France replacing the present owners, whom Germany undertakes to indemnify. France will continue to furnish the present proportion of coal for local needs and contribute in just proportion to local taxes. The basin extends from the frontier of Lorraine as reannexed to France north as far as Stwendel, including on the west the valley of the Saar as far as Saarholzbach, and on the east the town of Homburg.

In order to secure the rights and welfare of the population and guarantee to France entire freedom in working the mines, the territory will be governed by a commission appointed by the League of Nations and consisting of five members —one French, one a native inhabitant of the Saar and three representing three different countries other than France and Germany.

The League will appoint a member of the commission as chairman, to act as executive of the commission. The commission will have all powers of government formerly belonging to the German Empire, Prussia and Bavaria; will administer the railroads and other public services and have full power to interpret the treaty clauses.

The local courts will continue, but subject to the commission. Existing German legislation will remain the basis of the law, but the commission may make modification after consulting a local representative assembly, which it will organize. It will have the taxing power, but for local purposes only. New taxes must be approved by this assembly and in labor legislation it will consider the wishes of the local labor organizations and the labor program of the League. French and other labor may be freely utilized, the former being free to belong to French unions, all rights acquired as to pensions and social insurance will be maintained by Germany and the Saar commission.

There will be no military service, but only a local gendarmerie to preserve order. The people will preserve their local assemblies, religious liberties, schools and language, but may vote only for local assemblies. They will keep their present nationality, except so far as individuals may change it. Those wishing to leave will have every facility with respect to their property.

The territory will form part of the French customs system, with no export tax on coal and metallurgical products going to Germany, nor on German products entering the basin, and for five years no import duties on products of the basin going to Germany or German products coming into the basin for local consumption. French money may circulate without restriction.

After 15 years a plébiscite will be held by communes to ascertain the desires of the population as to continuance of the existing régime under the League of Nations, union with France or union with Germany. The right to vote will belong to all inhabitants over 20, resident therein at the signature of the treaty. Taking into account the opinions thus expressed, the League will decide the ultimate sovereignty. In any portion restored to Germany the German Government must buy out the French mines at an appraised valuation. If the price is not paid within six months thereafter, this portion passes finally to France. If Germany buys back the mines, the League will determine how much of the coal shall be annually sold to France.

Section III

OTHER FRONTIERS OF GERMANY

German Austria

"Germany recognizes the total independence of German Austria in the boundaries traced."

Czecho-Slovakia

Germany recognizes the entire independence of the Czecho-Slovak state, including the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians south of the Carpathians, and accepts the frontiers of this state as to be determined, which in the case of the German frontier shall follow the frontier of Bohemia in 1914. The usual stipulations as to acquisition and change of nationality follow.

Poland

Germany cedes to Poland the greater part of Upper Silesia, Posen and the province of West Prussia on the left bank of the Vistula. A field boundary commission of seven, five representing the allied and associated powers and one each representing Poland and Germany, shall be constituted within 15 days of the peace to delimit this boundary. Such special provisions as are necessary to protect racial, linguistic or religious minorities and to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of commerce of other nations shall be laid down in a subsequent treaty between the five allied and associated powers and Poland.

East Prussia

The southern and the eastern frontier of East Prussia as affecting Poland is to be fixed by plébiscites, the first in the regency of Allenstein, between the southern frontier of East Prussia and the northern frontier of Regierungsbezirk Allenstein, from where it meets the boundary between East and West Prussia to its junction with the boundary between the circles of Oletsko and Augersburg, thence the northern boundary of Oletsko to its junction with the present frontier, and the second in the area comprising the circles of Stuhm and Rosenberg and the parts of the circles of Marienburg and Marienwerder east of the Vistula.

In each case German troops and authorities will move out within 15 days of the peace and the territories be placed under an international

commission of five members appointed by the five allied and associated powers, with the particular duty of arranging for a free, fair and secret vote. The commission will report the results of the plébiscites to the five powers with a recommendation for the boundary, and will terminate its work as soon as the boundary has been laid down and the new authorities set up.

The five allied and associated powers will draw up regulations assuring East Prussia full and equitable access to and use of the Vistula. A subsequent convention, of which the terms will be fixed by the five allied and associated powers, will be entered into between Poland, Germany and Danzig, to assure suitable railroad communication across German territory on the right bank of the Vistula between Poland and Danzig, while Poland shall grant free passage from East Prussia to Germany.

The northeastern corner of East Prussia about Memel is to be ceded by Germany to the allied and associated powers, the former agreeing to accept the settlement made, especially as regards the nationality of the inhabitants.

Danzig

Danzig and the district immediately about it is to be constituted into the "Free City of Danzig" under the guaranty of the League of Nations. A high commissioner appointed by the League and resident at Danzig shall draw up a constitution in agreement with the duly appointed representatives of the city and shall deal in the first instance with all differences arising between the city and Poland. The actual boundaries of the city shall be delimited by a commission appointed within six months from the peace and to include three representatives chosen by the allied and associated powers, and one each by Germany and Poland.

A convention, the terms of which shall be fixed by the five allied and associated powers, shall be concluded between Poland and Danzig which shall include Danzig within the Polish customs frontiers, though a free area in the port; insure to Poland the free use of all the city's waterways, docks and other port facilities; the control and administration of the Vistula and the whole through railway system within the city, and postal, telegraphic and telephonic communication between Poland and Danzig; provide against

discrimination against Poles within the city a
place its foreign relations and the diploma
protection of its citizens abroad in charge
Poland.

Denmark

The frontier between Germany and D
mark will be fixed by the self-determination
the population. Ten days from the pe
German troops and authorities shall evacu
the region north of the line running from
mouth of the Slein, south of Kappeln, Schlesw
and Friedrichstadt along the Eider to the No
Sea south of Tonning; the Workmen's a
Soldiers' Councils shall be dissolved; and
territory administered by an international co
mission of five, of whom Norway and Swe
shall be invited to name two.

The commission shall insure a free and sec
vote in three zones. That between the Germ
Danish frontier and a line running south of
Island of Alsen, north of Flensburg and so
of Tondern to the North Sea north of the Isla
of Sild, will vote as a unit within three we
after the evacuation. Within five weeks af
this vote the second zone, whose south
boundary runs from the North Sea south of
Island of Fehr to the Baltic south of Sygu
will vote by communes. Two weeks after t
vote the third zone, running to the limit
evacuation, will also vote by communes. T
international commission will then draw a n
frontier on the basis of these plébiscites a
with due regard for geographical and econo
conditions. Germany will renounce all so
eignty over territories north of this line in fa
of the associated Governments, who will ha
them over to Denmark.

Helgoland

The fortifications, military establishments a
harbors of the islands of Helgoland and D
are to be destroyed under the supervision
the Allies by German labor, and at Germa
expense. They may not be reconstructed
any similar fortifications built in the future.

Russia

Germany agrees to respect as permanent a
inalienable the independency of all territo
which were part of the former Russian Emp

ccept the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk other treaties entered into with the Maxi- st government of Russia, to recognize the force of all treaties entered into by the l and associated powers with states which a part of the former Russian Empire, and cognize the frontiers as determined thereon. allied and associated powers formally re- the right of Russia to obtain restitution reparation on the principles of the present y.

Section IV

German rights outside Europe

tside Europe Germany renounces all rights, and privileges as to her own or her allies' ories to all the allied and associated powers, ndertakes to accept whatever measures are by the five allied powers in relation thereto.

Overseas Possessions

rmany renounces in favor of the allied and ated powers her overseas possessions with ghts and titles therein. All movable and vable property belonging to the German re or to any German state shall pass to the rnment exercising authority therein. These rnments may make whatever provisions suitable for the repatriation of German nals and as to the conditions on which an subjects of European origin shall reside, property or carry on business. Germany takes to pay reparation for damage suf- by French nationals in the Kamerun or r zone through the acts of German, civil ilitary authorities and of individual Ger- from January 1, 1900, to August 1, 1914. ny renounces all rights under the con- ns of November 4, 1911, and September 12, and undertakes to pay to France in ance with an estimate presented and ed by the Repatriation Commission all ts, credits, advances, etc., thereby secured. ny undertakes to accept and observe any ons by the allied and associated powers he trade in arms and spirits in Africa as to the general act of Berlin of 1885, and neral act of Brussels of 1890. Diplo- protection to inhabitants of former German s is to be given by the Governments ex- authority.

China

Germany renounces in favor of China all privileges and indemnities resulting from the Boxer protocol of 1901, and all buildings, wharves, barracks, forts, munitions, warships, wireless plants and other public property except diplomatic or consular establishments in the German concessions of Tientsin and Hankow and in other Chinese territory except Kiaochow, and agrees to return to China at her own expense all the astronomical instruments seized in 1900 and 1901. China will, however, take no measures for disposal of German property in the legation quarter at Peking without the consent of the powers signatory to the Boxer protocol.

Germany accepts the abrogation of the concessions at Hankow and Tientsin, China agreeing to open them to international use. Germany renounces all claims against China or any allied and associated government for the internment or repatriation of her citizens in China and for the seizure or liquidation of German interests there since August 14, 1917. She renounces in favor of Great Britain her state property in the British concession at Canton and in favor of France and China jointly the property of the German school in the French concession at Shanghai.

Siam

Germany recognizes that all agreements between herself and Siam, including the right of extra-territoriality, ceased July 22, 1917. All German public property except consular and diplomatic premises passes without compensation to Siam, German private property to be dealt with in accordance with the economic clauses. Germany waives all claims against Siam for the seizure and condemnation of her ships, liquidation of her property or internment of her nationals.

Liberia

Germany renounces all rights under the international arrangements of 1911 and 1912 regarding Liberia, more particularly the right to nominate a receiver of the customs, and disinterests herself in any further negotiations for the rehabilitation of Liberia. She regards as abrogated all commercial treaties and agreements between herself and Liberia, and recog

nizes Liberia's right to determine the status and condition of the re-establishment of Germans in Liberia.

Morocco

Germany renounces all her rights, titles and privileges under the act of Algeciras and the Franco-German agreements of 1909 and 1911 and under all treaties and arrangements with the Sherifian Empire. She undertakes not to intervene in any negotiations as to Morocco between France and other powers, accepts all the consequences of the French protectorate and renounces the capitulations. The Sherifian Government shall have complete liberty of action in regard to German nationals, and all German protected persons shall be subject to the common law. All movable and immovable German property, including mining rights, may be sold at public auction, the proceeds to be paid to the Sherifian Government and deducted from the reparation account. Germany is also required to relinquish her interests in the state bank of Morocco. All Moroccan goods entering Germany shall have the same privilege as French goods.

Egypt

Germany recognizes the British protectorate over Egypt declared on December 18, 1914, and renounces as from August 4, 1914, the capitulations and all the treaties, agreements, etc., concluded by her with Egypt. She undertakes not to intervene in any negotiations about Egypt between Great Britain and other powers. There are provisions for jurisdiction over German nationals and property, and for German consent to any changes which may be made in relation to the Commission of Public Debt. Germany consents to the transfer to Great Britain of the powers given to the late Sultan of Turkey for securing the free navigation of the Suez Canal. Arrangements for property belonging to German nationals in Egypt are made similar to those in the case of Morocco and other countries. Anglo-Egyptian goods entering Germany shall enjoy the same treatment as British goods.

Turkey and Bulgaria

Germany accepts all arrangments which the allied and associated powers make with Turkey

and Bulgaria with reference to any rights, privileges or interests claimed in those countries by Germany or her nationals, and not dealt with elsewhere.

Shantung

Germany cedes to Japan all rights, titles and privileges, notably as to Kiaochow, and the railroads, mines and cables acquired by her treaty with China of March 6, 1897, and other agreements as to Shantung. All German rights to the railroad from Tsingtao to Tsinanfu, including all facilities and mining rights and rights of exploitation, pass equally to Japan, and the cables from Tsingtao to Shanghai and Chefu, the cables free of all charges. All German state property, movable and immovable, in Kiaochow is acquired by Japan free of all charges.

Section V

MILITARY, NAVAL AND AIR FORCES

In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes directly to observe the military, naval and air clauses which follow.

Military Forces

The demobilization of the German army must take place within two months of the peace. Its strength may not exceed 100,000, including 4,000 officers, with not over seven divisions of infantry and three of cavalry, and to be devoted exclusively to maintenance of internal order and control of frontiers. The divisions may not be grouped under more than two army corps headquarters staffs. The Great German General Staff is abolished. The army administrative service, consisting of civilian personnel not included in the number of effectives, is reduced to one-tenth the total in the 1913 budget. Employees of the German states, such as customs officers, first guards and coast guards, may not exceed the number in 1913. Gendarmes and local police may be increased only in accordance with the growth of population. None of these may be assembled for military training.

All establishments for the manufacturing, preparation, storage or design of arms and munitions of war, except those specifically excepted, must be closed within three months of

e peace and their personnel dismissed. The act amount of armament and munitions al- ved Germany is laid down in detail tables, in excess to be surrendered or rendered use- s. The manufacture or importation of as- yxiating, poisonous or other gases and all alagous liquids is forbidden, as well as the portation of arms, munitions and war ma- ials. Germany may not manufacture such terials for foreign governments.

Conscription

Conscription is abolished in Germany. The listed personnel must be maintained by volun- y enlistments for terms of twelve consecutive ars, the number of discharges before the ex- ation of that term not in any year to exceed e per cent of the total effectives. Officers maining in the service must agree to serve to e age of 45 years and newly appointed officers ust agree to serve actively for 25 years.

No military schools except those absolutely lispensable for the units allowed shall exist in rmany two months after the peace. No sociations such as societies of discharged diers, shooting or touring clubs, educational ablishments or universities may occupy them- ves with military matters. All measures of bilization are forbidden.

Fortresses

All fortified works, fortresses and field works uated in German territory within a zone 50 ometers east of the Rhine will be dismantled hin three months. The construction of any w fortifications there is forbidden. The for- ed works on the southern and eastern fron- rs, however, may remain.

Control

nterallied commissions of control will see the execution of the provisions for which a e limit is set, the maximum named being ee months. They may establish headquarters the German seat of government and go to y part of Germany desired. Germany must e them complete facilities, pay their expenses, l also the expenses of execution of the treaty, luding the labor and material necessary in nolition, destruction or surrender of war ipment.

Naval

The German navy must be demobilized within a period of two months after the peace. She will be allowed six small battleships, six light cruisers, twelve destroyers, twelve torpedo boats and no submarines, either military or commercial, with a personnel of 15,000 men, including officers and no reserve force of any character. Conscription is abolished, only voluntary service being permitted, with a minimum period of 25 years' service for officers and twelve for men. No member of the German mercantile marine will be permitted any naval training.

All German vessels of war in foreign ports, and the German High Sea Fleet interned at Scapa Flow will be surrendered, the final disposition of these ships to be decided upon by the allied and associated powers. Germany must surrender 42 modern destroyers, 50 modern torpedo boats, and all submarines, with their salvage vessels. All war vessels under construction, including submarines, must be broken up. War vessels not otherwise provided for are to be placed in reserve or used for commercial purposes. Replacement of ships, except those lost, can take place only at the end of 20 years for battleships and 15 years for destroyers. The largest armored ship Germany will be permitted will be 10,000 tons.

Germany is required to sweep up the mines in the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, as decided upon by the Allies. All German fortifications in the Baltic defending the passages through the Belts must be demolished. Other coast defenses are permitted, but the number and calibre of the guns must not be increased.

Wireless

During a period of three months after the peace, the German high power wireless stations at Nauen, Hanover and Berlin, will not be permitted to send any messages except for commercial purposes and under supervision of the allied and associated governments, nor may any more be constructed.

Cables

Germany renounces all title to specified cables, the value of such as were privately owned being credited to her against reparation indebtedness.

Germany will be allowed to repair German submarine cables which have been cut, but are not being utilized by the allied powers, and also portions of cables which, after having been cut, have been removed, or are at any rate not being utilized by any one of the allied and associated powers. In such cases the cables, or portions of cables, removed or utilized remain the property of the allied and associated powers, and accordingly 14 cables, or parts of cables, are specified which will not be restored to Germany.

Air

The armed forces of Germany must not include any military or naval air forces, except for not over 100 unarmed seaplanes to be retained till October 1 to search for submarine mines. No dirigibles shall be kept. The entire air personnel is to be demobilized within two months except for 1,000 officers and men retained till October. No aviation grounds or dirigible sheds are to be allowed within 150 kilometers of the Rhine or the eastern or southern frontiers, existing installations within these limits to be destroyed. The manufacture of aircraft and parts of aircraft is forbidden for six months. All military and naval aeronautical material under a most exhaustive definition must be surrendered within three months, except for the 100 seaplanes already specified.

Section VI

Repatriation of Prisoners of War

The repatriation of German prisoners and interned civilians is to be carried out without delay and at Germany's expense by a commission composed of representatives of the Allies and Germany. Those under sentence for offenses against discipline are to be repatriated without regard to the completion of their sentence. Until Germany has surrendered persons guilty of offenses against the laws and customs of war, the Allies have the right to retain selected German officers. The Allies may deal at their own discretion with German nationals who do not desire to be repatriated, all repatriation being conditional on the immediate release of any allied subjects still in Germany. Germany is to accord facilities to commissions of inquiry in collecting information in regard to missing

prisoners of war and of imposing penalties on German officials who have concealed allied nationals. Germany is to restore all property belonging to allied prisoners. There is to be a reciprocal exchange of information as to dead prisoners and their graves.

Both parties will respect and maintain the graves of soldiers and sailors buried on their territories, and agree to recognize and assist any commission charged by any allied or associated Government with identifying, registering, maintaining or erecting suitable monuments over the graves, and to afford to each other all facilities for the repatriation of the remains of their soldiers.

Section VII

Responsibility for Starting War

"The allied and associated powers publicly arraign William II of Hohenzollern, formerly German Emperor, not for an offense against criminal law, but for a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties."

The ex-Emperor's surrender is to be requested of Holland and a special tribunal set up, composed of one judge from each of the five great powers, with full guaranties of the right of defense. It is to be guided "by the highest motives of international policy, with a view of vindicating the solemn obligations of international undertakings and the validity of international morality," and will fix the punishment it feels should be imposed.

Persons accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war are to be tried and punished by military tribunals under military law. If the charges affect nationals of only one state they will be tried before a tribunal of that state; if they affect nationals of several states, they will be tried before joint tribunals of the states concerned. Germany shall hand over to the associated Governments, either jointly or severally, all persons so accused and all documents and information necessary to insure full knowledge of the incriminating acts, the discovery of the offenders, and the just appreciation of the responsibility. The accused will be entitled to name counsel.

Section VIII

REPARATION FOR WAR DAMAGE

Germany's Responsibility

The allied and associated Governments affirm, and Germany accepts the responsibility of herself and her allies, for causing all the loss and damage to which the allied and associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

The total obligation of Germany to pay, as defined in the category of damages, is to be determined and certified to her after a fair hearing and not later than May 1, 1921, by an interallied reparation commission. At the same time a schedule of payments to discharge the obligation within 30 years shall be presented. These payments are subject to postponement in certain contingencies. Germany irrevocably recognizes the full authority of this commission, agrees to supply it with all the necessary information and to pass legislation to effectuate its findings. She further agrees to restore to the Allies cash and certain articles which can be identified.

As an immediate step toward restoration, Germany shall pay within two years 20,000,000,000 marks in either gold, goods, ships or other specific forms of payment, with the understanding that certain expenses such as those of the armies of occupation and payments for food and raw materials may be deducted at the discretion of the Allies.

Germany further binds herself to repay all sums borrowed by Belgium from her allies as a result of Germany's violation of the treaty of 1839, up to November 11, 1918, and for this purpose will issue at once and hand over to the reparation commission 5 per cent gold bonds falling due in 1926.

While the allied and associated Governments recognize that the resources of Germany are not adequate, after taking into account permanent diminution of such resources which will result from other treaty claims, to make complete reparation for all such loss and damage, they require her to make compensation for all damages caused to civilians under seven main categories:

(*a*) Damages by personal injury to civilians caused by acts of war, directly or indirectly.

(*b*) Damage caused to civilians by acts of cruelty ordered by the enemy, and to civilians in the occupied territory.

(*c*) Damages caused by maltreatment of prisoners.

(*d*) Damages to the allied peoples represented by pensions and separation allowances, capitalized at the signature of this treaty.

(*e*) Damages to property other than naval or military materials.

(*f*) Damages to civilians by being forced to labor.

(*g*) Damages in the form of levies on fines imposed by the enemy.

"In periodically estimating Germany's capacity to pay, the reparation commission shall examine the German system of taxation, first to the end that the sums for reparation which Germany is required to pay shall become a charge upon all her revenues, prior to that for the service or discharge of any domestic loan, and secondly so as to satisfy itself that, in general, the German scheme of taxation is fully as heavy proportionately as that of any of the powers represented on the commission.

"The measures which the allied and associated powers shall have the right to take, in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals and in general such other measures as the respective Governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances."

The commission shall consist of one representative each of the United States, British Empire, France, Italy and Belgium, and in certain cases of Japan and Serbia, with all other allied powers, entitled, when their claims are under consideration, to the right of representation without voting power. It shall permit Germany to give evidence regarding her capacity to pay and shall assure her a just opportunity to be heard. It shall make its headquarters at Paris; establish its own procedure and personnel; have general control of the whole reparation problem and become the exclusive agency of the

Allies for receiving, holding, selling and distributing reparation payments. Majority vote shall prevail except that unanimity is required on questions involving the sovereignty of any of the Allies, the cancelation of all or part of Germany's obligations, the time and manner of selling, distributing and negotiating bonds issued by Germany, and postponement between 1921 and 1926 of annual payments beyond 1930 and any postponement after 1926 for a period of more than three years, the application of a different method of measuring damage than in a similar former case, and the interpretation of provisions. Withdrawal from representation is permitted on twelve months' notice.

The commission may require Germany to give from time to time, by way of guaranty, issues of bonds or other obligations to cover such claims as are not otherwise satisfied. In this connection and on account of the total amount of claims, bond issues are presently to be required of Germany in acknowledgment of its debt as follows: 20,000,000,000 marks gold, payable not later than May 1, 1921, without interest; 40,000,000,000 marks gold bearing 2½ per cent interest between 1921 and 1926 and thereafter 5 per cent, with a 1 per cent sinking fund, payment beginning in 1926, and an undertaking to deliver 40,000,000,000 marks gold bonds bearing interest at 5 per cent, under terms to be fixed by the commission.

Interest on Germany's debt will be 5 per cent unless otherwise determined by the commission in the future, and payments that are not made in gold may "be accepted by the commission in the form of properties, commodities, businesses, rights, concessions, etc." Certificates of beneficial interest, representing either bonds or goods delivered by Germany may be issued by the commission to the interested power. As bonds are distributed and pass from the control of the commission, an amount of Germany's debt equivalent to their par value is to be considered as liquidated.

Shipping

The German government recognizes the right of the Allies to the replacement, ton for ton, and class for class, of all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged owing to the war, and

agrees to cede to the Allies all German merchant ships of 1,600 tons gross and upward; one-half of her ships between 1,600 and 1,000 tons gross and one-quarter of her steam trawlers and other fishing boats. These ships are to be delivered within two months to the reparation commission, together with documents of title evidencing the transfer of the ships free from encumbrance.

"As an additional part of reparation," the German government further agrees to build merchant ships for the account of the Allies to the amount of not exceeding 200,000 tons gross annually during the next five years.

All ships used for inland navigation taken by Germany from the Allies are to be restored within two months, the amount of loss not covered by such restitution to be made up by the cession of the German river fleet up to 20 per cent thereof.

Dyestuffs and Chemical Drugs

In order to effect payment by deliveries in kind, Germany is required, for a limited number of years, varying in the case of each, to deliver coal, coal-tar products, dyestuffs and chemical drugs, in specific amounts to the reparations commission. The commission may so modify the conditions of delivery as not to interfere unduly with Germany's industrial requirements. The deliveries of coal are to be based largely upon the principle of making good diminutions in the production of the allied countries resulting from the war.

Germany accords option to the commission on dyestuffs and chemical drugs, including quinine up to 50 per cent of total stock in Germany at the time the treaty comes into force and similar option during each six months to end of 1924 up to 25 per cent of previous six months' output.

Devastated Areas

Germany undertakes to devote her economic resources directly to the physical restoration of the invaded areas. The reparation commission is authorized to require Germany to replace the destroyed articles by the delivery of animals, machinery, etc., existing in Germany, and to manufacture materials required for reconstruc-

tion purposes; all with due consideration for Germany's essential domestic requirements.

Germany is to deliver annually for ten years to France coal equivalent to the difference between the annual prewar output of Nord and Pas de Calais mines and annual production during above ten-year period. Germany further gives options over ten years for delivery of 7,000,000 tons coal per year to France in addition to the above, of 8,000,000 tons to Belgium, and of an amount rising from four and a half million tons in 1919 to 1920 to eight and a half million tons in 1923 to 1924 to Italy at prices to be fixed, as prescribed in the treaty. Coke may be taken in place of coal in the ratio of three tons to four. Provision is also made for delivery to France over three years of benzol, coal tar and of ammonia. The commission has powers to postpone or annul the above deliveries should they interfere unduly with the industrial requirements of Germany.

Germany is to restore within six months the Koran of the Caliph Othman, formerly at Medina, to the King of the Hedjaz, and the skull of the Sultan Okwawa, formerly in German East Africa, to his Britannic Majesty's Government.

The German government is also to restore to the French Government certain papers taken by the German authorities in 1870, belonging then to M. [Eugène] Rouher, and to restore the French flags taken during the war of 1870 and 1871.

As reparation for the destruction of the Library of Louvain, Germany is to hand over manuscripts, early printed books, prints, etcetera, to the equivalent of those destroyed.

In addition to the above Germany is to hand over to Belgium wings now at Berlin belonging to the altar piece of the "Adoration of the Lamb" by Hubert and Jan Van Eyck, the center of which is now in the Church of Saint Bavon at Ghent, and the wings now at Berlin and Munich of the altar piece of "The Last Supper" by Dirk Bouts, the center of which belongs to the Church of St. Peter, at Louvain.

Section IX

PUBLIC DEBT AND OCCUPATION COST

The powers to which German territory is ceded will assume a certain portion of the Ger-

man prewar debt, the amount to be fixed by the reparations commission on the basis of the ratio between the revenue and of the ceded territory and Germany's total revenues for the three years preceding the war. In view, however, of the special circumstances under which Alsace-Lorraine was separated from France in 1871, when Germany refused to accept any part of the French public debt, France will not assume any part of Germany's prewar debt there, nor will Poland share in certain German debts incurred for the oppression of Poland. If the value of the German public property in ceded territory exceeds the amount of debt assumed, the states to which the property is ceded will give credit on reparation for the excess, with the exception of Alsace-Lorraine. Mandatory powers will not assume any German debts or give any credit for German government property.

Germany renounces all right of representation on, or control of, state banks, commissions, or other similar international financial and economic organizations.

Germany is required to pay the total cost of the armies of occupation from the date of the armistice as long as they are maintained in German territory, this cost to be a first charge on her resources. The cost of reparation is the next charge, after making such provisions for payments for imports as the Allies may deem necessary.

Germany is to deliver to the allied and associated powers all sums deposited in Germany by Turkey and Austria-Hungary in connection with the financial support extended by her to them during the war, and to transfer to the Allies all claims against Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria or Turkey in connection with agreements made during the war. Germany confirms the renunciation of the treaties of Bukharest and Brest-Litovsk.

On the request of the reparations commission, Germany will expropriate any rights or interests of her nationals in public utilities in ceded territories or those administered by mandatories, and in Turkey, China, Russia, Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria, and transfer them to the reparations commission, which will credit her with their value. Germany guarantees to repay to Brazil the fund arising from the sale of Saõ

Paulo coffee which she refused to allow Brazil to withdraw from Germany.

Section X

CUSTOMS, CONTRACTS AND CONVENTIONS

Tariff Duties

For a period of six months Germany shall impose no tariff duties higher than the lowest in force in 1914, and for certain agricultural products, wines, vegetable oils, artificial silk and washed or scoured wool this restriction obtains for two and a half years more. For five years, unless further extended by the League of Nations, Germany must give most-favored-nation treatment to the allied and associated powers. She shall impose no customs tariff for five years on goods originating in Alsace-Lorraine and for three years on goods originating in former German territory ceded to Poland, with the right of observation of a similar exception for Luxemburg.

Shipping

Ships of the allied and associated powers shall for five years and thereafter under condition of reciprocity, unless the League of Nations otherwise decides, enjoy the same rights in German ports as German vessels and have most-favored-nation treatment in fishing, coasting trade and towage even in territorial waters. Ships of a country having no seacoast may be registered at some other place within its territory.

Unfair Competition

Germany undertakes to give the trade of the allied and associated powers adequate safeguards against unfair competition, and in particular to suppress the use of false wrappings and markings and on condition of reciprocity, to respect the laws and judicial decisions of allied and associated states in respect of regional appellations of wines and spirits.

Treatment of Nationals

Germany shall impose no exceptional taxes or restriction upon the nationals of allied and associated states for a period of five years, and, unless the League of Nations acts for an additional five years, German nationality shall not

continue to attach to a person who has become a national of an allied or associated state.

Multilateral Conventions

Some 40 multilateral conventions are renewed between Germany and the allied and associated powers, but special conditions are attached to Germany's readmission to several. As to postal and telegraphic conventions, Germany must not refuse to make reciprocal agreements with the new states. She must agree as respects the radio-telegraphic convention to provisional rules to be communicated to her, and adhere to the new convention when formulated. In the North Sea fisheries and North Sea liquor traffic convention rights of inspection and police over associated fishing boats shall be exercised for at least five years only by vessels of these powers. As to the international railway union she shall adhere to the new convention when formulated.

China

As to the Chinese customs tariff arrangement, the arrangement of 1905, regarding Whangpu and the Boxer indemnity of 1901; France, Portugal and Rumania as to the Hague convention of 1903 relating to civil procedure; and Great Britain and the United States as to Article 3 of the Samoan treaty of 1899 are relieved of all obligation toward Germany.

Bilateral Treaties

Each allied and associated state may renew any treaty with Germany insofar as consistent with the peace treaty by giving notice within six months. Treaties entered into by Germany since August 1, 1914, with other enemy states and before or since that date with Rumania, Russia and governments representing parts of Russia, are abrogated and concessions granted under pressure by Russia to German subjects are annulled. The allied and associated states are to enjoy most-favored-nation treatment under treaties entered into by Germany and other enemy states before August, 1914, and under treaties entered into by Germany and neutral states during the war.

Prewar Debts

A system of clearing houses is to be created within three months, one in Germany and one

in each allied and associated state which adopts the plan for the payment of prewar debts, including those arising from contracts suspended by the war. For the adjustment of the proceeds of the liquidation of enemy property and the settlement of other obligations, each participating state assumes responsibility for the payment of all debts owing by its nationals to the nationals of the enemy states except in cases of prewar insolvency of the debtor. The proceeds of the sale of private enemy property in each participating state may be used to pay the debts owed to the nationals of that state. Direct payment from debtor to creditor and all communications relating thereto being prohibited, disputes may be settled by arbitration by the courts of the debtor country or by the mixed arbitral tribunal. Any allied or associated power, may, however, decline to participate in this system by giving Germany six months' notice.

Enemy Property

Germany shall restore or pay for all private enemy property seized or damaged by her, the amount of damages to be fixed by the mixed arbitral tribunal. The allied and associated states may liquidate German private property within their territories as compensation for property of their nationals not restored or paid for by Germany, for debts owed to their nationals by German nationals and for other claims against Germany. Germany is to compensate its nationals for such losses and to deliver within six months all documents relating to property held by its nationals in allied and associated states. All war legislation as to enemy property rights and interests is confirmed, and all claims by Germany against the allied or associated Governments for acts under reciprocal war measures are abandoned.

Contracts

Prewar contracts between allied and associated nationals, excepting the United States, Japan and Brazil, and German nationals are canceled, except for debts for accounts already performed.

For the transfer of property where the property had already passed, leases of land and houses, contracts of mortgages, pledge or lien, mining concessions, contracts with governments and

insurance contracts, mixed arbitral tribunals shall be established of three members, one chosen by Germany, one by the associated states and the third by agreement, or, failing which by the President of Switzerland. They shall have jusrisdiction over all disputes as to contracts concluded before the present peace treaty.

Fire insurance contracts are not considered dissolved by the war even if premiums have not been paid, but lapse at the date of the first annual premium falling due three months after the peace. Life insurance contracts may be restored by payments of accumulated premiums with interest, sums falling due on such contracts during the war to be recoverable with interest. Marine insurance contracts are dissolved by the outbreak of war except where the risk insured against had already beeen incurred. Where the risk had not attached premiums paid are recoverable, otherwise premiums due and sums due on losses are recoverable. Reinsurance treaties are abrogated unless invasion has made it impossible for the reinsured to find another reinsurer. Any allied or associated power, however, may cancel all the contracts running between its nationals and a German life insurance company, the latter being obligated to hand over the proportion of its assets attributable to such policies.

Rights as to industrial, literary and artistic property are re-established. The special war measures of the allied and associated powers are ratified and the right reserved to impose conditions on the use of German patents and copyrights when in the public interest. Except as between the United States and Germany, prewar licenses and rights to sue for infringements committed during the war are canceled.

Opium

The contracting powers agree, whether or not they have signed and ratified the opium convention of January 23, 1912, or signed the special protocol opened at The Hague in accordance with resolutions adopted by the Third Opium Conference in 1914, to bring the said convention into force by enacting within twelve months of the peace necessary legislation.

Religious Missions

The allied and associated powers agree that the properties of religious missions in territories belonging or ceded to them shall continue in their work under the control of the powers, Germany renouncing all claims in their behalf.

Section XI

AERIAL NAVIGATION

Aircraft of the allied and associated powers shall have full liberty of passage and landing over and in German territory, equal treatment with German 'planes as to use of German airdromes, and with most-favored-nation 'planes as to internal commercial traffic in Germany. Germany agrees to accept allied certificates of nationality, airworthiness or competency or licenses and to apply the convention relative to aerial navigation concluded between the allied and associated powers to her own aircraft over her own territory. These rules apply until 1923, unless Germany will have been admitted to the League of Nations or to the above convention.

Section XII

FREEDOM OF TRANSPORT

Goods in Transit

Germany must grant freedom of transit through her territories by rail or water to persons, goods, ships, carriages and mails from or to any of the allied or associated powers, without customs or transit duties, undue delays, restrictions or discriminations based on nationality, means of transport, or place of entry or departure. Goods in transit shall be assured all possible speed of journey, especially perishable goods. Germany may not divert traffic from its normal course in favor of her own transport routes or maintain "control stations" in connection with transmigration traffic. She may not establish any tax discrimination against the ports of allied or associated powers; must grant the latter's seaports all factors and reduced tariffs granted her own or other nationals, and afford the allied and associated powers equal rights with those of her own nationals in her ports and waterways, save that she is free to open or close her maritime coasting trade.

Free Zones in Ports

Free zones existing in German ports on August 1, 1914, must be maintained with due facilities as to warehouses, packing and shipping, without discrimination, and without charges except for expenses of administration and use. Goods leaving the free zones for consumption in Germany and goods brought into the free zones from Germany shall be subject to the ordinary import and export taxes.

International Rivers

The Elbe from the junction of the Vltava, the Vltava from Prague, the Oder from Oppa, the Niemen from Grodno, and the Danube from Ulm are declared international, together with their connections. The riparian states must insure good conditions of navigation within their territories unless a special organization exists therefor. Otherwise, appeal may be had to a special tribunal of the League of Nations, which also may arrange for a general international waterways convention.

The Elbe and the Oder are to be placed under international commissions to meet within three months, that for the Elbe composed of four representatives of Germany, two from Czecho-Slovakia, and one each from Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium; and that for the Oder composed of one each from Poland, Russia, Czecho-Slovakia, Great Britain, France, Denmark and Sweden. If any riparian state on the Niemen should so request of the League of Nations, a similar commission shall be established there. These commissions shall upon request of any riparian state meet within three months to revise existing international agreements.

The Danube

The European Danube Commission reassumes its prewar powers, but for the time being with representatives of only Great Britain, France, Italy and Rumania. The Upper Danube is to be administered by a new international commission until a definite statute be drawn up at a conference of the powers nominated by the allied and associated governments within one year after the peace. The enemy governments shall make full reparations for all war damages caused

to the European Commission; shall cede their river facilities in surrendered territory, and give Czecho-Slovakia, Serbia and Rumania any rights necessary on their shores for carrying out improvements in navigation.

The Rhine and the Moselle

The Rhine is placed under the central commission to meet at Strasburg within six months after the peace and to be composed of four representatives of France, which shall in addition select the president, four of Germany, and two each of Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland and the Netherlands. Germany must give France on the course of the Rhine included between the two extreme points of her frontiers all rights to take water to feed canals, while herself agreeing not to make canals on the right bank opposite France. She must also hand over to France all her drafts and designs for this part of the river.

Belgium is to be permitted to build a deep draft Rhine-Meuse canal, if she so desires, within 25 years, in which case Germany must construct the part within her territory on plans drawn by Belgium; similarly, the interested allied Governments may construct a Rhine-Meuse canal, both if constructed, to come under the competent international commission. Germany may not object if the Central Rhine Commission desires to extend its jurisdiction over the lower Moselle, the upper Rhine, or lateral canals.

Germany must cede to the allied and associated Governments certain tugs, vessels, and facilities for navigation on all these rivers, the specific details to be established by an arbiter named by the United States. Decision will be based on the legitimate needs of the parties concerned and on the shipping traffic during the five years before the war. The value will be included in the regular reparation account. In the case of the Rhine, shares in the German navigation companies and property, such as wharves and warehouses, held by Germany in Rotterdam at the outbreak of the war must be handed over.

Railways

Germany, in addition to most-favored-nation treatment on her railways, agrees to co-operate in the establishment of through ticket services

for passengers and baggage; to insure communication by rail between the allied associated and other states; to allow the construction or improvement within 25 years of such lines as necessary; and to conform her rolling stock to enable its incorporation in trains of the allied or associated powers. She also agrees to accept the denunciation of the St. Gothard convention if Switzerland and Italy so request, and temporarily to execute instructions as to the transport of troops and supplies and the establishment of postal and telegraphic service, as provided.

Czecho-Slovakia

To assure Czecho-Slovakia access to the sea, special rights are given her both north and south. Toward the Adriatic, she is permitted to run her own through trains to Fiume and Trieste. To the north, Germany is to lease her for 99 years spaces in Hamburg and Stettin, the details to be worked out by a commission of three representing Czecho-Slovakia, Germany and Great Britain.

The Kiel Canal

The Kiel Canal is to remain free and open to war and merchant ships of all nations at peace with Germany. Subjects, goods and ships of all states are to be treated on terms of absolute equality, and no taxes to be imposed beyond those necessary for upkeep and improvement, for which Germany is to be responsible. In case of violation of, or disagreement as to, those provisions, any state may appeal to the League of Nations, and may demand the appointment of an international commission. For preliminary hearing of complaints, Germany shall establish a local authority at Kiel.

Section XIII

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

Annual Conference

Members of the League of Nations agree to establish a permanent organization to promote international adjustment of labor conditions, to consist of an annual international labor conference and an international labor office.

The former is composed of four representatives of each state, two from the government and one

each from the employers and the employed; each of them may vote individually. It will be a deliberative legislative body, its measures taking the form of draft conventions or recommendations for legislation, which, if passed by two-thirds vote, must be submitted to the law making authority in every state participating. Each government may either enact the terms into law, approve the principle, but modify them to local needs, leave the actual legislation in case of a federal state to local legislatures, or reject the convention altogether without further obligation.

The international labor office is established at the seat of the League of Nations as part of its organization. It is to collect and distribute information on labor throughout the world and prepare agenda for the conference. It will publish a periodical in French and English, and possibly other languages. Each state agrees to make to it for presentation to the conference an annual report of measures taken to execute accepted conventions. The governing body consists of 24 members, twelve representing the governments, six the employers and six the employees, to serve for three years. On complaint that any government has failed to carry out a convention to which it is a party, the governing body may make inquiries directly to that government, and in case the reply is unsatisfactory, may publish the complaint with comment. A complaint by one government against another may be referred by the governing body to a commission of inquiry nominated by the Secretary General of the League. If the commission report fails to bring satisfactory action, the matter may be taken to a permanent court of international justice for final decision. The chief reliance for securing enforcement of the law will be publicity, with a possibility of economic action in the background.

The first meeting of the conference will take place in October, 1919, at Washington, to discuss the 8-hour day or 48-hour week, prevention of unemployment, extension and application of the international conventions adopted at Bern in 1906 prohibiting night work for women and the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches, and employment of women and children at night or in unhealthy work, of women before and after childbirth, including maternity benefit, and of children as regards minimum age.

Labor Clauses

Nine principles of labor conditions are to be recognized, on the ground that "the wellbeing, physical and moral, of the industrial wage-earners is of supreme international importance." With exceptions necessitated by differences of climate, habits and economic development, they include: the guiding principle that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce; right of association of employers and employees; a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life; the 8-hour day or 48-hour week; a weekly rest of at least 24 hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable; abolition of child labor and assurance of the continuation of the education and proper physical development of children; equal pay for equal work as between men and women; equitable treatment of all workers lawfully resident in any country, including foreigners; and a system of inspection in which women should take part.

Section XIV

GUARANTIES ASKED OF FOE

Western Europe

As a guaranty for the execution of the treaty, German territory to the west of the Rhine, together with the bridgeheads, will be occupied by allied and associated troops for 15 years. If the conditions are faithfully carried out by Germany, certain districts, including the bridgehead of Cologne, will be evacuated at the expiration of five years; certain other districts, including the bridgehead of Coblenz, and the territories nearest the Belgian frontier, will be evacuated after ten years, and the remainder, including the bridgehead of Mainz, will be evacuated after 15 years. In case the Inter-allied Reparation Commission finds that Germany has failed to observe the whole or part of her obligations, either during the occupation or after the 15 years have expired, the whole or part of the areas specified will be reoccupied immediately. If before the expiration of the 15 years Germany complies with all the treaty undertakings, the occupying forces will be withdrawn immediately.

All German troops at present in territories to the east of the new frontier shall return as soon as the allied and associated Governments deem wise. They are to abstain from all requisitions and are in no way to interfere with measures for national defense taken by the government concerned.

All questions regarding occupation not provided for by the treaty will be regulated by a subsequent convention or conventions, which will have similar force and effect.

Section XV

FINAL CLAUSES OF THE TREATY

Germany agrees to recognize the full validity of the treaties of peace and additional conventions to be concluded by the allied and associated powers with the powers allied with Germany, to agree to the decisions to be taken as to the territories of Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, and to recognize the new states in the frontiers to be fixed for them.

Germany agrees not to put forward any pecuniary claims against any allied or associated power, signing the present treaty based on events previous to the coming into force of the treaty.

Germany accepts all decrees as to German ships and goods made by any allied or associated prize court. The Allies reserve the right to examine all decisions of German prize courts.

The present treaty, of which the French and British texts are both authentic, shall be ratified and the depositions of ratification made in Paris as soon as possible.

The treaty is to become effective in all respects for each power on the date of deposition of its ratification.

COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

ADOPTED AT THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE INTER-ALLIED PEACE CONFERENCE, APRIL 28, 1919

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the high contracting parties agree to thisCovenant of the League of Nations:

ARTICLE I.

Membership and Withdrawal

1. The original members of the League of Nations shall be those of the signatories which are named in the annex to this Covenant and also such of those other states named in the annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accessions shall be effected by a declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other members of the League.

2. Any fully self-governing state, dominion or colony not named in the annex may become a member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guaranties of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military and naval forces and armaments.

3. Any member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

Article II.

Executive Organs

1. The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

Article III.

Assembly

1. The Assembly shall consist of representatives of the members of the League.

2. The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

3. The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

4. At meetings of the Assembly each member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three representatives.

Article IV.

Council

1. The Council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, of the British Empire, of France, of Italy, and of Japan, together with representatives of four other members of the League. These four members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the representatives of the four members of the League first selected by the Assembly, representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain shall be members of the Council.

2. With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional members of the League whose representatives shall always be members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council.

3. The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require and at least once a year, at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

4. The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

5. Any member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member of the League.

6. At meetings of the Council each member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one representative.

Article V.

Voting and Procedure

1. Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant, or by the terms of this treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting.

2. All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the members of the League represented at the meeting.

3. The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

Article VI.

Secretariat

1. The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

2. The first Secretary-General shall be the person named in the annex; thereafter the Secretary-General shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

3. The secretaries and the staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Council.

4. The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.

5. The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the

International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

Article VII.

Seat, Qualifications for Officials, Immunities

1. The seat of the League is established at Geneva.

2. The Council may at any time decide that the seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

3. All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

4. Representatives of the members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

5. The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

Article VIII.

Reduction of Armaments

1. The members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

2. The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each member, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

3. Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every 10 years.

4. After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

5. The members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

6. The members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the

scale of their armaments, their military and naval programs, and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

Article IX.

Permanent Military Commission

1. A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles I and VIII and on military and naval questions generally.

Article X.

Guaranties Against Aggression

1. The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

Article XI.

Action in Case of War or Threat of War

1. Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the Secretary-General shall, on the request of any member of the League, forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

2. It is also declared to be the friendly right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb either the peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

Article XII.

Disputes to Be Submitted to Arbitration or Inquiry

1. The members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council

and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council.

2. In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

Article XIII.

Arbitration of Disputes

1. The members of the League agree that, whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration.

2. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration.

3. For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

4. The members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered and that they will not resort to war against a member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

Article XIV.

Court of International Justice

1. The Council shall formulate and submit to the members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a permanent Court of International Justice. The court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

Article XV.

Disputes Not Submitted to Arbitration

1. If there should arise between members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

2. For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary-General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case, with all the relevant facts and papers; and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

3. The Council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of the dispute and, if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

4. If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

5. Any member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

6. If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

7. If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

8. If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council, to

arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

9. The Council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within 14 days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

10. In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this article and of Article XII relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the representatives of those members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other members of the League, exclusive in each case of the representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

Article XVI.

Sanctions

1. Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles XII, XIII or XV, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking member of the League, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking member of the League and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the League or not.

2. It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military or naval force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

3. The members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this article, in order to minimize the

loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking member of the League, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

4. Any member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the representatives of all the other members of the League represented thereon.

Article XVII.

Disputes with Non-Members

1. In the event of a dispute between a member of the League and a state which is not a member of the League, or between states not members of the League, the state or states not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles XII to XVI, inclusive, shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

2. Upon such invitation being given, the Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

3. If a state so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a member of the League, the provisions of Article XVI shall be applicable as against the state taking such action.

4. If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

Article XVIII.

Registration and Publication of Treaties

1. Every treaty or international engagement entered into henceforward by any member of the

League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

Article XIX.

Review of Treaties

1. The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

Article XX.

Abrogation of Inconsistent Obligations

1. The members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

2. In case any member of the League shall, before becoming a member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

Article XXI.

Engagements That Remain Valid

1. Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace.

Article XXII.

Control of Colonies and Territories

1. To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the states which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form

a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

2. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations, who, by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.

3. The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

4. Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory.

5. Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and for the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

6. There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

7. In every case of mandate the mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

8. The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

9. A permanent commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatories, and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

Article XXIII.

Social Activities

1. Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the League:

(*a*) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations;

(*b*) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;

(*c*) will intrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;

(*d*) will intrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest;

(*e*) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communication and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the League. In this connection, the special necessities of the regions devasted during the war of 1914–1918 shall be borne in mind;

(*f*) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

Article XXIV.

International Bureaus

1. There shall be placed under the direction of

the League all International Bureaus already established by general treaties, if the parties to such treaties consent. All such International Bureaus and all Commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

2. In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaus or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

3. The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any Bureau or Commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

Article XXV.

Promotion of Red Cross

1. The members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and cooperation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

Article XXVI.

Amendments

1. Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the members of the League whose representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the members of the League, whose representatives compose the Assembly.

2. No such amendment shall bind any member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a member of the League.

Annex

I. Original members of the League of Nations signatories of the treaty of peace:

United States of America	Guatemala
Belgium	Haiti
Bolivia	Hedjaz

Brazil
British Empire
Canada
Australia
South Africa
New Zealand
India
China
Cuba
Czecho-Slovakia
Ecuador
France
Greece
Honduras
Italy
Japan
Liberia
Nicaragua
Panamá
Perú
Poland
Portugal
Rumania
Serbia
Siam
Uruguay

States invited to accede to the Covenant:

Argentine Republic
Chile
Colombia
Denmark
Netherlands
Norway
Paraguay
Persia
Salvador
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Venezuela

II. First Secretary-General of the League of Nations: Sir James Eric Drummond.

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RESOLUTION

Whereas, we believe that the United States should now enter the League of Nations in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security; and

Whereas, the Peace Conference at Paris, at its first session, recognized the necessity of making the League of Nations the basis of the treaty of peace, and has shaped the whole treaty on the assumption that this League of Nations will be formed; and

Whereas, the first draft of the Covenant of the League of Nations was submitted for world-wide discussion and, in the light of such discussion, has been largely amended to meet suggestions made by American statesmen; and

Whereas, ample provision is made in the present Covenant for such future amendments as prove desirable; and

Whereas, a nation which fails to secure satisfactory conditions is at liberty at any time to give two years' notice of withdrawal; and

Whereas, the perfected Covenant has already become an essential part of the peace treaty with Germany, and cannot be further amended at this time without jeopardizing the whole peace treaty, and inviting the spread of international anarchy,

Now, Therefore, we earnestly urge that the United States Senate, without unreasonable delay, ratify the treaty of peace when it shall be submitted for ratification, and thereby secure the maintenance of world peace, which is the great end for which we fought the war, and without the attainment of which all our sacrifices of blood and treasure will have been in vain.

Adopted by the Massachusetts Joint Committee for a League of Free Nations